

# NEGRO SLAVERY.

## No. VIII.

### INSURRECTIONS IN THE WEST INDIES.

ST. LUCIA—TRINIDAD—DOMINICA—JAMAICA—  
DEMERARA.

AFTER having considered the late insurrection in Demerara, we now turn to the other insurrections which, it is alleged, have been produced in the West Indies by the agitation, in this country, of the question of Slavery.

I. The first insurrection by which the public mind was disturbed was thus announced in the newspapers of the 4th October, 1823:—

“Castries, St. Lucia, August, 1823.

“Since the account of Mr. Buxton's motion reached this island, the conduct of many of the Negroes has caused much alarm. Three notorious characters, ringleaders in a plot against the White and free Coloured People, have been apprehended and brought into town. Last night was fixed for the commencement of their brigandage. The plot being blown, and every one on the alert, we hope the meditated disturbance will be prevented; but we fear some severe examples will be necessary, and a considerable time elapse, ere tranquillity and discipline be established in the minds of the Negroes. So much for philanthropic speeches, producing misery and bloodshed in place of peace and good order.”

Of this formidable plot we have heard not one syllable since it was

first announced. We trust, however, that the details connected with it will be called for by Parliament.—Of St. Lucia less is known in this country than of any of our other islands. With two facts only, connected with that colony, are we acquainted, and these have greatly increased our desire to know more of its institutions. One is, that a fine is exacted, and paid into the king's treasury, on every act of manumission which takes place there; another, that some years ago a Negro, who was found guilty of running away, had both his ears cut off close to his head by the order and in the presence of a gentleman high in office there. The death alone of that gentleman prevented a motion for a parliamentary inquiry into this transaction. The mutilated Negro, who had escaped from the island, was actually in this country, prepared to exhibit the most incontrovertible proof of the mutilation when the news of the death of the perpetrator of it arrived. So much for St. Lucia.

II. In the newspapers of the 24th January, 1824, was announced an insurrection at Trinidad. The following is an extract from the letter which conveyed this informa-

tion:—"About ten days since an intended rising amongst the Negroes in the valley of Diego Martin was fortunately discovered, and twenty-three of the principals taken and sent to confinement. The time appointed by them for the purpose was the night of the 1st inst. (Nov. 1, 1823); and although the plot was discovered, yet it was deemed necessary to be on the alert that night." "I question much if any of the twenty-three Negroes taken will be executed. I remember a similar occurrence in 1805,"—(was this also owing "to the interference of a set of people at home, who would rejoice in the ruin of us all?")—"when four suffered, and several had their ears cropped. One of these said ear-less gentlemen was taken up as a principal in the late affair." Here then we have a very fair good plot, as good a plot as ever was hatched. It served its purpose: it spread terror and dismay for two or three days in Trinidad; and it added to the fears of the timid and irresolute in England. But our newspapers, though they took pains to sound the trumpet of alarm, have not given us any information as to the result of the plot and the fate of the conspirators. We propose to supply this deficiency.

An inquiry was forthwith instituted by the Government of Trinidad into the nature and extent of this formidable conspiracy; when it clearly appeared that the whole was a mere hoax, and that there was not even the shadow of proof of any evil intention on the part of the twenty-three Slaves who had been apprehended, or of any other Slaves in the island. But how, in this dilemma, was the dignity of the White aristocracy to be saved from ridicule? This was a problem not easily solved. The course actually adopted was to bring the prisoners before the Governor, Sir R. Woodford, who, after giving them a solemn admonition on the duty of subordination, dismissed them to their homes, only exacting from two of them, who, it is said, had been

heard to mutter something about that hated word *freedom*, a promise (their *parole d'honneur* is the expression employed in two different letters) that they would remain for six months within the local limits of the plantations to which they belonged. Thus has ended the Trinidad plot.

In some respects, indeed, an insurrection in Trinidad is less to be apprehended than in any other of our Slave Colonies. The free population bears to the slave population the proportion of 18 to 22; besides which, the Spanish laws, which prevail in this island, are more favourable to the protection and well-being of the Slaves, than the Slave Codes of the British Colonies in general. On the other hand, there have been exhibited of late strong symptoms of a disposition on the part of the local authorities to depart from the salutary spirit of Spanish legislation. Mr. Stephen, in his admirable delineation of Colonial Bondage, as it exists in point of law (p. 115), has adverted, with his usual force, to an official notification by Sir Ralph Woodford, Governor of Trinidad (which appeared in the London newspapers of the 6th October, 1823), of his having ordered two Negro Slaves to be punished, one with 75 and the other with 100 lashes, for a complaint against their master, which, he says, on investigation proved to be groundless. These tremendous punishments Sir Ralph directs to be inflicted in the presence of deputations of ten slaves from each of the neighbouring estates, for the express purpose of deterring them from like offences. This is in the very spirit of the slave system of Demerara. Sir Ralph deemed it necessary to order that surgeons should attend to watch the application of that West-Indian knout—the cart-whip. We concur with Mr. Stephen in deeming the Governor to be scarcely justifiable in thus awfully adding to the terrors which must always oppose an appeal by the slave from his master to the

magistrate. The danger is, without doubt, even in Trinidad, infinitely greater, that cruel and fatal oppressions should be unpunished and unrestrained from the want of a complainant or a witness, than that masters should suffer by the groundless accusations of their slaves. "Sir Ralph," Mr. Stephen observes, "should have recollected that it was impossible *so* to discourage complaints that are false, without intimidating the poor slaves from bringing forward such as are true. It is probable that a great majority of the Negroes who witnessed these tremendous and solemn floggings believed the sufferers to be innocent, and their story true; and to them at least, if not to all, the practical lesson obviously was—*Beware how you complain.*"

We trust that the papers necessary to elucidate the above transaction will be called for in Parliament.

But this is not all. The White population of Trinidad have afforded us a recent opportunity to judge of their spirit. At a meeting of the White proprietors of the quarter of Tacarigua, on the 20th of September 1823, it was unanimously resolved, "That to deprive the master of the power of inflicting corporeal punishment on any slave, whether male or female, would subvert the discipline of every estate in the colony, without answering one beneficial end;" and that "they consider the abolition of *Sunday markets* as tending in no way to the promotion of religion." The resolutions in another quarter, that of North Naparema, are equally strong; and they contain, moreover, this singular proposition, that "any attempt to instil into their minds *religious instruction*, or education beyond what they now possess (so long as Slaves are *property*), would not, in the opinion of the undersigned, tend to render their situation more pleasant, but be, in fact, incompatible with the existence of Slavery."

It is a remarkable circumstance, and most highly to the honour of

the free Black and Coloured population of Trinidad, that though possessing about one half of the Slaves and other property in the island, not one of them could be found to sign these iniquitous resolutions. They were invited to sign them; but they unanimously refused to do so. They refused, one and all, to be parties to any act which should serve to intercept the benevolence of the British Government in its way to their Slaves. They themselves indeed have been made to feel, and are now feeling, the effect of that spirit which unhappily animates the greater part of the White Colonists in the West Indies. We allude to their contempt for the Coloured population, and their determination to exclude it from all participation in the rights and privileges of British subjects. The free People of Colour have, however, at length made their case known to his Majesty, who, we doubt not, will grant them the redress to which they are so unquestionably entitled.

III. The next case of alleged insurrection, which we have to notice is one which exists as yet only in apprehension. A letter from Dominica, dated Dec. 7th, 1823, appeared in The Courier of the 3d February last, giving a most alarming view of the general state of insubordination among the Slaves, but specifying no overt act of violence. The whole account wears a most suspicious air. But even if the writer's apprehensions were realised, it would only be what has occurred in Dominica over and over again; for this is the very island in which Governor Ainslie offered a reward for bringing in insurgent men, women, and children, dead or alive. It was also in this island that the conduct of the Governor who succeeded him was indicted by the Grand Jury of the island as a nuisance, and denounced by the Assembly as calculated to disturb the public peace, because he prosecuted several masters for cruelty

to their Slaves. And it is this island, moreover, which, with a population of about 900 Whites, men, women, and children, has been the foremost in talking of *throwing off their allegiance*, if the British Parliament shall dare to interfere with their sacred right of cartwhipping their Slaves.

IV. A fourth case, that of Barbadoes, as it was an *insurrection of the Whites*, and not of the Blacks, we shall not think it necessary to dwell upon at present, further than to remark, that it proves incontrovertibly the extraordinary power of combination, or rather of conspiracy, for purposes of crime, existing among the White population of this island; which population, be it remembered, is about four times as large, in proportion to the Slave population, as that of almost all the other colonies. The White people of Barbadoes seem to entertain no scruples whatever about uniting to commit the most violent outrages on the public peace:—they raze to the ground a house dedicated to the worship of Almighty God: they seek the life of the exemplary and unoffending individual who officiated in it, and force him into exile: they follow up these criminal proceedings by sending emissaries to different islands to excite the White population there to imitate their example: and, to crown all, they openly denounce vengeance on every person who shall dare to take a single step to bring the perpetrators of the above outrages to justice; and to these offenders, should they be brought to trial, they openly and unblushingly promise complete immunity, even at the expense of the perjury of the jurors appointed to try them.

Now is it, under such circumstances, any breach of charity to suppose, if these White men can go such lengths in crime to serve their supposed interests, or to gratify their inflamed passions, that they may as little hesitate to combine for the fabrication of a Negro plot, even

though at some cost of Negro blood, if it should appear to them necessary with a view to the attainment of the same objects? Let us therefore be on our guard against Barbadoes, recollecting also that it may be just possible that the spirit and conduct of the Barbadians may have their admirers and imitators in other islands. We trust that Parliament will speedily call for information respecting this Barbadoes insurrection.

V. We now proceed to consider the disturbances that have taken place in Jamaica, the last, though not the least, of the colonies claiming our attention on this score.

1. The first intimation of any recent disturbance in this island is contained in a letter dated Kingston, Oct. 12, 1823, and is to the following effect:—"Two or three people have been shipped off last week from Jamaica, having been found with inflammatory documents in their possession, sent by some secret emissaries of Boyer in St. Domingo, to induce the Negroes to rise *en masse*, to declare themselves free, and to murder all the Whites. We are all under great apprehensions in consequence."

It is more than probable that this alarming statement had for its object to cover a gross act of injustice; which was afterwards, however, most happily frustrated.

It is already known (see No. IV.) that the free People of Colour in Jamaica have of late been petitioning the colonial legislature on the subject of their civil and political rights, and that their petition has been rejected.

The conduct of their cause was intrusted to a Committee consisting of twenty-one individuals of their own body, who naturally became obnoxious to many White colonists. Some of these, had it been in their power, would probably not have hesitated to transport from the island the whole Committee, as a just punishment for daring to aspire to an extension of civil and political

rights. What they could not do, however, with respect to all, the Alien Law of Jamaica enabled them at least to attempt with respect to two of the most able and active of the body. That law empowers the Governor to apprehend any Negro, or Person of Colour, not being a natural born subject of his Majesty, to confine him on board a ship, and to send him off the island in twenty-four hours, provided he thinks such person "a dangerous or suspicious character with regard to the public safety and tranquillity." Under the cover of this enactment, two individuals, the only two whose names happened not to be English, were fixed upon for the experiment. A letter from Jamaica, dated the 13th of last October, gives the following account of this transaction. The writer is himself a Person of Colour:—

"In the worst spirit, two of the Committee have been dragged to prison, charged with a conspiracy against the peace of the state. Though a great deal of unfair treatment was to be feared from such men as those that compose the White society of Jamaica; though, from all authority being vested in the complexional aristocracy, it was to be expected that the party would be powerful against us; yet it was by no means to be presumed that they would have proceeded to this desperate length, in order to subdue the favourable sentiments with which we have been met in our appeal to the Legislature. By raising the cry of danger, they have sought to smother the voice of those who had promised to plead our cause in the Legislature; and it is a matter of proud satisfaction to say, that these our advocates are the most opulent, the most intelligent, and most respected of the land.

"The motives for bringing down this suspicion on our conduct are too apparent to be mistaken: it weakens that which constitutes the strength of our claim. In the words of our declaration we state, that

we look to the devotion which we have always manifested to the interests of the island, as the fairest pledge of undoubted fitness to be now relieved from our political disabilities.

"There is a law, which gives to the Governor the power of sending out of the island within four and twenty hours any alien charged, on information before a magistrate, with being known to be of sentiments inimical to the state. To bring the individuals selected to be the victims to their fears and their prejudices within the operation of this law, it was necessary to be very circumspect. The persons are not aliens, and, therefore, not liable to the exercise of this extraordinary power conceded to the Governor. But still it was necessary to give them the appearance of being such, to induce the Executive to employ its authority against them. Their parents, when their own country (St. Domingo) was made the seat of a bloody revolution, sought and found an asylum in Jamaica, where they gave birth to these children. They are the subjects of England. However, the fact of their parents being natives of St. Domingo constituted the *presumption* of their being aliens; and in defiance of the circumstances, notorious to every one, that they possessed property in land, in houses, and in slaves; that they had wives and children; that they claimed the protection of subjects, and performed the duties of citizens,—all which ought to have induced inquiry,—yet did the Governor venture to exercise against them the arbitrary authority vested in him under the Alien Law.

"But this is not all of this diabolical conspiracy. I have said that it was necessary to be circumspect. They wisely and warily mixed the insidiousness of the fox with the poison of the serpent. Four and twenty hours would give their friends time to proclaim before the authorities the infraction of their rights. It was, therefore, arranged, that they should be arrested in the

evening, and carried away from the island in the morning by a vessel of war then ready to sail. The honesty of the Deputy Marshal saved them from the destruction which awaited them. He saw all the calamities attending an investigation at home, and prudently delayed the execution of the warrant until the vessel of war had left the island. By this simple act of honesty, he has enabled them to claim the protection of the laws of their country; and by a writ of Habeas Corpus, to be moved in court to-day, they will be restored to their friends, to their family, and to society. The names of the individuals are Lescesne and Escoffery.

"By referring to our resolutions, you will perceive that our intended petition claims from the Legislature the exercise of those ordinary rights of British subjects—the right of admission on juries, and the right of suffrage of freeholders. They are circumstances of ordinary citizenship of which at present we are divested. In a state where so many of the privileges of British subjects are abridged as in this of Jamaica, where people are daily liable to so much oppression, they are essential to our safety; and I believe no case could with more effect be pointed out to demonstrate that necessity, than the recent villainous attempt against Lescesne and Escoffery."

It is not to be believed that any British Governor, and especially that a man so humane and benevolent as the Duke of Manchester, should have lent himself wittingly to so oppressive and cruel a transaction. The grossest fraud must have been practised upon him before he could have signed the fatal warrant; and he will owe it to his own character for humanity and justice to expose the parties who have thus abused his good faith, as well as the means by which they succeeded in making him the instrument of their design.

In confirmation of the details contained in the above letter, it

appears (from the Royal Gazette of Jamaica), that on the very day on which it is dated, namely, the 13th of last October, Mr. Rennalls, a barrister, moved the Grand Court of the island for a writ of Habeas Corpus to discharge from gaol two young Men of Colour, L.C. Lescesne and John Escoffery, who had been committed under the Alien Act. The Attorney-General opposed the motion, on the ground that the affair was undergoing the regular course of investigation, and that it might frustrate the ends of justice to grant it. The Court said, "it should not interfere at present; but when the inquiry was at an end, the case might be brought before it, when it would consider it."

On the 17th of October, Mr. Rennalls renewed his motion, which was again opposed by the Attorney-General on the same ground as before; but "the Court conceived it its duty to ascertain if the parties were really British subjects, and directed that the affidavits should be filed, and the motion considered on a future day."

On the 24th of October the case was solemnly argued at great length; and on the following day the Court pronounced its sentence, which was—that both individuals were British born subjects, and entitled to their discharge.

Not a word appears to have been said in any stage of the proceedings of the inflammatory documents alleged to have been found in their possession, and of the purpose of raising the Slaves *en masse*, and murdering all the Whites, which were so confidently talked of in the letter of the 12th of October quoted above.

Most fortunate was it for these men, in the then temper of the island, that their fate was to be decided by responsible judges, and not by an irresponsible jury; and yet the Chief Justice, in delivering his decision, seems to have lamented that the Court had not had "the advantage of a jury, who could have seen the manner in which the witnesses

delivered their evidence; but had been confined to looking over the written testimony before them." It had been argued, he said, that "the Court ought to have the most complete and satisfactory evidence that these men were British subjects; and to convince it that *so signal an act of oppression* had been committed by the Executive." But eleven persons having sworn to the fact of the birth of Lescesne in Jamaica, and six to that of Escoffery, there could be no doubt on the point.

We trust that all the necessary documents for elucidating this transaction will also be called for by Parliament.

2. The abortive alarm which has just been mentioned, and which so signally disappointed its authors, is not the only alarm which has reached us from Jamaica. Christmas is there the great period of alarms of plots; and those who know Jamaica might have predicted that the Christmas of 1823 could not pass without similar alarms. And yet Christmas is obviously by far the most unlikely time for a plot, as the authorities are then usually on the alert. Agreeably, however, to what might have been expected, the editor of one of the newspapers tells us, on the 23d of December 1823, "Several rumours of the most alarming nature have been spread in this city (Kingston) respecting the Negroes of St. George's." This editor, who seems to have suspected that the rumours had no foundation, very judiciously "determined to elicit the truth," and proceeded himself to those parts of the parish which were said to be in a state of insurrection. He found guards stationed at Annotto Bay, Buff Bay, and Birnham Wood. "The good folks of Annotto Bay," he says, "were all staring at each other, and labouring under visible anxiety. One told him there was a revolt at Balcarras, another that the whole parish along Buff Bay river was in a state of insubordination.

It was also stated, that the gaol at Buff Bay was crowded with revolt-ers. The editor proceeded to that village, and found in the gaol one Negro, who was taken up with a fowling piece in his hands, about to murder—a wild boar!!" \*

3. From the parish of Manchester, the parish of the Rev. J. W. Bridges, we have an alarm no less unfounded and ridiculous. They write thence: "Our friends T—— and M—— had a wild-goose chase yesterday, having gone upwards of forty miles, by order of the Custos, with two companies of the militia and an entire troop, to search the Negro houses at Cocoa Walk, where there were said to be arms in possession of the Negroes. The result was, that one musket only was found, given by Dr. Porter many years ago to an old watchman: there were also a few rusty bayonets about fifty years old.

4. St. Mary's parish, however, has furnished an alarm of a more serious description. A letter from that parish, dated Dec. 19, 1823, gives the following statement of it:—"This horrible business was accidentally discovered on the evening of the 16th by a servant boy telling his master he would have a bad Christmas, advising him at that time to go on board ship, as the Negroes were to rise; that *his own father*, who was one of the chiefs, had told him to take care of himself at that time; that he had seen large meetings of Negroes, and heard them speak of killing all the White people. He implicated six Negroes of an estate adjoining Port Maria, and two belonging to Mr. Walker. The Negro named Ned, one of Mr. Walker's, was apprehended and brought before the magistrates, and the boy kept out of the way. He denied the thing until the boy was brought as evidence to his face. *He then received a promise of pardon, and his freedom, to discover the whole*; and he deposed, that a ge-

\* A plot, it seems, has since been discovered in St. George's, and some Slaves have been executed.

neral rising was to have taken place on Christmas eve, but in consequence of the guards being mounted at that time, it was suggested that it would be an improper time. A meeting was therefore held, and it was fixed for the night of the 18th, when it was to be general. It was to commence by firing the trash (or fuel) house, and the works of Frontier estate, and as the White people came they were to be destroyed. They were then to fire the town of Port Maria, and a general massacre to take place."

The sequel to this tragedy is thus related in the Jamaica newspapers of the 28th December, 1823 :—

"At a Special Slave Court held in the Court-house at Manning's Town, in the parish of St. Mary, on the 18th inst., the following Slaves were tried, and sentenced to be transported for life, viz. :—

"Jacob, to James Deans, Esq. for running away—Value 10*l*.

"Abraham Davis, to Richmond Estate, for ditto—Value 50*l*.

"Quaw, to Francis Bowen, for ditto—Value 50*l*.

"London, to Robert Alexander, Esq. for ditto—Value 50*l*.

"George Bryan, to Agnalte Vale Pen, for ditto—Value 50*l*.

#### "TRIAL OF THE REBELS.

"The Court adjourned till the next day for the trial of the following Slaves, charged with being concerned in rebellious conspiracies and committing other crimes, to the ruin and destruction of the White people and others of this island, and for causing, exciting, and promoting others thereto; and also for being concerned in rebellion, and designing to commit murder, felony, burglary, and to set fire to certain houses, out-houses, and compassing and imagining the death of the White people in the said parish. They were all found guilty on the clearest evidence, and sentenced to be hanged.

"Henry Nibbs, to J. Walker, Esq. —Value 50*l*.

"Charles Brown, to Frontier estate—Value 100*l*.

"James Sterling, to ditto—Value 65*l*.

"Charles Watson, to ditto—Value 80*l*.

"Rodney Wellington, to ditto—Value 70*l*.

"William Montgomery, to ditto—Value 100*l*.

"Richard Cosley, to ditto—Value 100*l*.

"Morris Henry, to ditto—Value 90*l*.

"On their defence they denied the charge, and said they were well used, and clothed, and were quite happy. One of them, Charles Watson, declared that he never was punished in his life; that great trust was put in him, and he was as well off as if he was free.

#### "EXECUTION OF THE REBELS.

"The above culprits were executed at Port Maria, in the most solemn and impressive manner, on Wednesday, in pursuance of his Grace's warrant. Richard Cosley acknowledged his guilt to the Rev. — Girod and the Rev. — Cooke. They were unremitting in their attendance on the wretched and deluded beings.

"From the evidence, it appeared beyond the shadow of a doubt, that they designed to set fire to Frontier works, adjoining Port Maria, and to butcher the Whites and free Persons of Colour, as they came to extinguish the fire, then to come down to the town and take possession of it, while a detachment seized the fort."

Such are the particulars of this "horrible" insurrection, and of the summary executions which avenged it. It is no where stated that there was any overt act of violence on the part of the Slaves who were executed. It is not asserted that they had any arms or ammunition in their possession, or any access to such indispensable instruments of insurrection, and yet part of their plan was to seize the fort. The particulars of the evidence have not yet been given to us: we trust they will be given. But who were the witnesses? A waiting-boy, who was strangely admitted to the counsels of the conspi-



rators, and who accuses his own father; and a man to whom an offer is said to have been first made of a pardon for himself, and of his *freedom*, if he would discover the whole. *His freedom!* If we were to believe all the statements of West-Indians at home and abroad, this offer of freedom could have been no temptation to one of their thrice happy slaves—happier far than the English peasant. And yet mark how differently men reason, when thrown off their guard, from what they do when they are writing pamphlets. We find no question among the alarmed Whites of St. Mary as to the estimation in which freedom is held by the Slave. It is the infallible bait, by which he is tempted to betray his associates in conspiracy; and which, if there had been no conspiracy, might possibly have been a bait sufficiently powerful to induce him to create one. And then consider the precipitation with which these poor wretches are hurried out of the world. The waiting-boy informs his master of the plot only on the evening of the 16th. The magistrates assemble, probably on the following day, for the purpose of inquiry; and on that day, we presume, the accused are apprehended. On the 18th the Slave Court is formed; on the 19th the prisoners are condemned to death; and as soon as it was possible to receive the Governor's warrant from Spanish-town they are executed. Is there not something very opposite to our ideas of the solemnity of proceedings in trials for treason, in this rapid proceeding? A brief interval of time surely might have been interposed between the apprehension of these men and their trial; such an interval as would have admitted of calm and deliberate inquiry, and would have allowed the effervescence of men's passions to subside before the trial should take place. Let the minutes then be produced of this trial, by

which eight of his Majesty's subjects have been thrust out of existence with such unusual haste, and on evidence, as far as yet appears, of not the most satisfying description—the evidence of a *waiting-boy*, who hangs his own father; and of a man who is stated to have had a pardon and the *promise of freedom* given him to induce him to discover the whole. These eight men too have been executed on evidence which would not have been admitted in any court of Jamaica to decide the value of a hobnail belonging to a White man. And by whom are they tried? By the very men who are made to believe that they themselves were to be the victims of this atrocious conspiracy. From among the very men against whom the alleged wrong is said to be meditated, and whose fears are still intensely agitated by the newly discovered plot, of which they were to be themselves the victims, a court and jury are forthwith collected to try the delinquents: no time is allowed to prepare the defence; no legal assistance is afforded to the accused; no means or time for obtaining exculpatory testimony; but the Court proceeds at once, without even a day's pause, to the work of trial and condemnation. The matter will speak for itself to the bosoms of Englishmen.

But the reader will doubtless be struck with a peculiarity in the account given us of this affair—To the name of each of the persons executed is affixed a sum of money. That sum indicates the price at which each has been appraised; in fact, the price of blood, which is to be paid to the owner of the slave who is executed, out of the treasury of the island. The whole sum paid for these eight men is 655*l.* Jamaica currency, or about 465*l.* sterling, being at the average rate of 58*l.* sterling for each\*.

\* We may see from this the extravagance of Mr. Barham's calculation of the value of the Slaves in our colonies; namely, 80*l.* sterling each for young and old, male and female, healthy and infirm. In the present case, eight men capable of being conspirators are valued at an average of only 58*l.* The runaways paid for by the same Court average only 42*l.* currency, or 30*l.* sterling.

And this circumstance furnishes an answer to those who argue as to the improbability that masters will lend themselves to the too ready belief of plots which must issue in the destruction of their property. The master whose slaves are sacrificed, we see, is indemnified by the public. Thus in Demerara, if we suppose the number of slaves put to death in the late insurrection to amount to 750, to pay for them all would make only one per cent. on the whole number of slaves in the colony, which there are doubtless some individuals there who would regard as a light contribution, if it could serve the purpose of averting the interference of the British Parliament in the management of their slaves.

VI. We cannot close this Number better than by reverting to Demerara. Mr. Smith, the Missionary, is no more. He has received what few in the present age have had the honour of receiving, the crown of the martyr. He died on the 6th of February. The following is the last letter he had in his power to write. It is dated from the colony jail. The closing paragraph is worthy of an Evangelist.

"Dear and honoured Sirs,—I have just received your kind and sympathizing letter of the 19th November, and will endeavour to answer it by this packet, if my emaciated frame will enable me to bear the fatigue of so doing.

"It will be the less necessary at this period for me to enter into particulars respecting the causes of the revolt, and my alleged concern in it, as you will be made fully acquainted with the latter by the documents that have been long since forwarded to the Society by Mrs. Smith, and by those which Mr. Elliot took with him.

"The real causes and objects of the commotion among the Negroes are not, I think, very difficult to ascertain. I, rather Mrs. Smith has sent every document which came within our reach. There are very few written documents that I know

of on the subject. It is the opinion of the only *two real friends* I have in the colony at present, that a Deputation sent out by Government to investigate the causes of the revolt, would discover wonders; and I have no doubt of the correctness of their views.

"You seem to be aware, in some measure, of the unceasing animosity which the colonists in general, and the planters in particular, have to the instruction of the Slaves, and to faithful Missionaries on that account: but you can have no just idea of the rancour and fury they display against a Missionary when any report is raised against him; which is not unfrequent, and always has turned out to be false, as far as my knowledge has extended. The following extract from the Guiana Chronicle of the 11th of February, 1822, may give an idea of their malicious dispositions towards Missionaries:—

"We have had occasion repeatedly to express our opinion of the Sectarian Propagandists, who send forth their Missionaries out of a pretended zeal for the salvation of souls. They (the Missionaries), to be sure, are too wise and cunning to make direct attacks from the pulpit on public men and measures; but in respect of their wild jargon, their capricious interpretations of the Bible, and the doctrines they inculcate, although in themselves they are to be despised and slighted, yet, in point of the pernicious tendency they may have upon the minds of their hearers, we do think no caution can be too great, no vigilance too strict. Instances are not wanting of their imposture in this part of the world: their manner of raising revenue in support of their church, is not unknown; neither is the way in which the contributions are sacrilegiously squandered. That fact alone ought to weigh against all their solemn professions of being actuated solely by a pure love of godliness, and apostolic zeal in the cause of Christianity. The influence they possess

in the minds of the Negroes is more widely ramified than is imagined, or would be readily believed. It is no longer proper to say they are insignificant. In the common acceptance of the word, they are truly so; but from their calling and canting, they have acquired a degree of importance in this colony not attainable otherwise. Let them be looked after now more strictly than ever; and we pledge ourselves to do for them in proper colours, whenever we may be furnished with the authentic particulars of any immoral or illegal wanderings from the path of their duty.

"This extract is not selected for its singularity (for such attacks are not unfrequent in this colony), but to shew how the Missionaries are regarded.

"You say, you 'hope I have not been left to struggle unhelped with the power of my enemies.' Thanks be to God, I have not been left altogether without a friend. The Rev. Mr. Elliot has stood by me, and exerted himself much in my behalf; and a kind Providence raised up, unexpectedly, a most warm and zealous friend in the Rev. Mr. Austin. Nor must I omit the name of Doctor Chapman, who has taken a warm interest in my cause; but the pious and independent principles of these gentlemen prevent them from having much influence in these matters: and Mr. Arrindell's friendship I must not forget to name.

"Under my persecutions and afflictions, it affords me no small consolation, that the Directors cherish the assurance of my entire innocence. That I am innocent of the crimes which they have laid to my charge, I have not only the testimony of my own conscience in my favour, but the attestation of all my friends, who have made strict inquiries into my conduct relative to this affair. The Instructions I received from the Society, I always endeavoured to act upon; and in order to vindicate the Society from the vile aspersions made against it by its enemies, as to its having a

concealed object in view—namely, the ultimate liberation of the Slaves—I laid over the Instructions as a part of the proceedings of the court-martial on my trial, that publicity might be given to the real object of the Society.

"It appears as if the Directors have some apprehensions of its having been possible, that I have diverted my mind, in some measure, from the real object of my mission, and entered into a correspondence and connexion with some of those Societies which are formed for the gradual Abolition of Slavery. I can assure the Directors this is not the case: no letter or correspondence of the kind ever having occurred between me and any Society. All my papers were seized without a moment's warning, and underwent a most rigid examination by a committee of gentlemen who were by no means my friends: and yet nothing of the kind was ever pretended to be discovered. For every other information, I beg leave to refer the Directors to the documents already forwarded, and to Mr. Elliot.

"I suppose, by this time, you are at no loss to know whether I am pursuing my labours at Le Resouvenir. Indeed, had not the revolt occurred, I must have relinquished them, at least for a considerable time, in order to seek the restoration of my declining health in a more salubrious climate; but my close imprisonment, with its innumerable privations, has prevented me from taking that step, and has brought me to the borders of the grave.

"It grieves me, dear Sirs, that I am now a useless burden upon the Society. I have endeavoured from the beginning, to discharge my duties faithfully. In doing so, I have met with the most unceasing opposition and reproach, until at length the adversary found occasion to triumph over me. But so far have these things been from shaking my confidence in the goodness of the cause in which I was engaged, that if I were at liberty, and my health

restored, I would again proclaim (all my days) the glad tidings of salvation amidst similar opposition ; but of this I see no prospect. The Lord's hand is heavy upon me: still I can praise His name, that though outward afflictions abound towards me, yet the consolations of the Gospel abound also, and I believe He will do all things well.

"I am, dear Sirs,

"In much affliction,

"Your useless, but devoted servant,  
(Signed) "JOHN SMITH."

The following extract of a letter from Mrs. Elliot, the wife of the Missionary, dated 14th January, 1824, shews that the Demerara tragedy had not yet closed.

"There were four Negroes hung in town last week ; and poor Sandy was hung, up the coast. Our good and faithful friend, Mr. Austin, hearing they intended to make out a story to answer their purpose from Sandy's confession, left town with our friend Mr. C. (Dr. Chapman). They arrived just as the troops reached the estate ; but our enemies were quite disappointed, for Sandy told them that Mr. Smith *never* taught them to rebel, and died praying for poor Mr. Smith, that God would deliver him from his enemies. Achilles, belonging to the Baron (an estate near Le Resouvenir), really, as they said, preached to them. He told them that religion had restrained them (the Negroes) in this instance ; and said Mr. Smith knew nothing of the rebellion until it had broke out. What he said made a great impression on all present."

But the blood of the martyred Missionary, and of these murdered Negroes, will not be silent. Already its sound has gone forth throughout the land ; and from every corner of it the most energetic expressions of public feeling have begun to proceed. The following resolutions of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Auxiliary Missionary Society afford only a fair specimen of the general senti-

ment : namely, "That this Meeting is decidedly of opinion, that the disturbance among the Negroes of that colony (Demerara) is to be attributed to the immoderate labour exacted of them—to the severity of treatment to which they were subjected—to the opposition of the planters to the religious information of the Slave—and to withholding the instructions of Government concerning the whip:—That the trial of Mr. Smith has been excited and carried on in direct opposition to the well-defined and impartial procedure of every English court of judicature, and which would have resulted in the death of Mr. Smith, but for the interposition of his Majesty, our most gracious Sovereign:—That the moral and legal innocence of Mr. Smith is apparent; and that this Committee, instead of being "ashamed of his bonds," believe that many of the Whites residing on the plantations are indebted for the preservation of their lives to the Christian precepts inculcated by him in the discharge of his duties as a Christian Missionary, of which testimony has been borne by the Episcopal Chaplain of the Colony, in the following terms:—'I feel no hesitation in declaring, from the intimate knowledge which my most anxious inquiries have obtained, that in the late scourge which the hand of an All-wise Creator has inflicted on this ill-fated country, nothing but those religious impressions which, under Providence, Mr. Smith has been instrumental in fixing—nothing but those principles of the Gospel of peace which he has been proclaiming—could have prevented a dreadful effusion of blood here, and saved the lives of those very persons who are now (*I shudder to write it*) seeking his:—'That this Meeting will support, to the utmost of its power, the efforts contemplated by the Directors of the Parent Society, for obtaining in this country a reversal of the sentence passed by the Court-martial at Demerara on their greatly persecuted Missionary."